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ABSTRACT

This paper examines ideological themes present in movements for child labor reform and in literature in 19th century France. Separate sections cover early industrialization and child labor reform, the image of the romantic child in French literature, and ideology and reforms. By the mid-19th century, England, America, and France all had their versions of the image of the sensitive, innocent, vulnerable child juxtaposed with that of a harsh, corrupting, damaging world. France had its version of this image, although French romanticists generally were neither as anti-industry or as child-centered as their English counterparts. A second French motif was that of the coddled bourgeois child sent off to the strict environment of the lycee (school). The name most commonly associated with such permissive childrearing practices in France is Jean Jacques Rousseau. His synthesis of already-existing practices into a systematic philosophy of the nature of the child contains themes which only began to be incorporated into French law over 100 years after the 1762 publication of "Emile." (IS)

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# "Le Droit de L'Enfant":

# Ideologies of the Child in 19th Century French Literature and Child Welfare Reform

Suzanne Kirschner

June 1983

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## Introduction

Gordon Wright speaks of "the rich variety and individuality of French intellectual life....that makes of French intellectual history so complex a mosaic "* and in researching this paper this writer has found that non-generalization to be accurate. It is therefore difficult to summarize neatly the research which follows. It is based on an attempt to uncover ideological themes present in movements for child labor reform and in literature in nineteenth century France. Perhaps because of its particular industrial history, or perhaps because literature on child labor is not as readily available here as in France, an investigation of several theories about romanticism and its relation to other social trends has proved more fruitful than research on child labor per se.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, England, America and France all had their versions of the juxtaposition of the image of the sensitive, innocent, vulnerable child against that of a harsh, corrupting, damaging world. In England, the child was usually poor and the world was industry. In the U.S., the child was very often a little girl and the dangerous world was masculine business. France had its own version of Elizabeth Barrett/Dickens in Victor Hugo (although in general French romanticists were neither as anti-industry nor as child-centered as their English counterparts); but another French motif was that of the coddled, blissfully sheltered bourgeois child who was sent off at the beginning of adolescence to the much stricter environment of the lycee.

The name most commonly associated with such permissive child-rearing practices is likewise associated with French culture, though Rousseau was actually Swiss by birth. His synthesis of already-existing practices into a systematic philosophy of the nature of the child appears to contain themes (i.e., the romantic notion of childhood and of the relationship of the child to Society) which only

began to be systematically incorporated into French law over one hundred years after the 1762 publication of Emile.

* Gordon Wright, France in Modern Times (Chicago, 1960), p. 376.

France industrialized later and -- especially before 1830 -- more slowly than did England:

> The period from 1815 to 1848 marks in France the infancy and the beginning of the adolescence of the Industrial Revolution, but not its maturity, which was not attained until after 1860. In 1848 France was still largely agricultural.[1]

Dunham attributes this to a large extent to the fact that "the bounty of nature made this possible, even desirable,"[2] but certainly another important factor in France's later industrialization was the unstable and tumultuous character of France's political history during the century between 1789 and 1870. The monarchy-toppling Revolution of 1789 was succeeded by three other revolutionary uprisings (1830, 1848 and 1870) sandwiched in between empires, republics and a Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy.

Neither the last decade of the eighteenth century (the Revolution and its aftermath) nor the first three decades of the nineteenth (the Napoleonic and Restoration years) were periods of widespread industrial advancement. After the Revolution of 1830 (during the 1830-1848 "Bourgeois Monarchy" of Louis-Philippe) the pace of industrialization was speeded up considerably -- but even so, the development of industry in France retained its own particular character. Dunham states that "Between 1815 and 1848...the number of workers in large-scale industries was very small in relation to the population as a whole and was only about a quarter of all the industrial workers."[3] And even after 1870, much of French industry remained "small and semiartisanal in structure.... even large enterprise had a special character in France....40 per cent of French workers were still employed in the textile and clothing trades in 1914, and more than half of these worked at home rather than in factories. Such a labor force was far more resistant to organization than a mass of production-line workers in vast impersonal plants."[4]

During this century of political flux and turmoil there were a wide variety of social and intellectual ideologies which, at various times, informed, attached to, or revolted against political and social conditions. Although nineteenth century France thus had its share of utopian theorists and socialistic experiments, the phrase "laissez-faire" probably best describes the situation of early industrial development in that country and the attitudes of the majority of people vis-a-vis the role and responsibility of business in society: Speaking of the 1830s and 40s, Breunig states that "In contrast with Great Britain, France made practically no effort to regulate conditions in the factories and mines. With the bourgeoisie firmly in control, the government's laissez-faire policy went largely unchallenged."[5] Much later in the century (after the 1860s) a stronger paternalistic streak became evident in the attitudes of some conservative industrialists with regard to the "social welfare" of the workers they employed, but Gordon Wright stresses that "If France had a forgotten man in the pre-1914 era, it was surely the urban worker....In 1900 women and children were resticted to a ten-hour day....Almost no other industrial state in those years granted so little to its labor force."[6] (In the concluding section of this paper, post-1870 attitudes and reforms concerning children in labor and other arenas of life will be examined in more detail.)

Nevertheless, even during the early years (1820s - 40s) there were a few "exceptional" voices which sought to publicize and ameliorate the conditions of workers in industrialized areas -- these being not unlike the conditions of their English counterparts -- and their humanitarian efforts included protests against child labor as well. The name of Louis Rene Villermé is frequently mentioned in this context:

> Villermé, a physician and member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, did more than anyone else to bring before the public the actual distress of the industrial workers. His investigations of

> industrial conditions were by far the most thorough and intelligent and when he made them he had been known for 20 years as a courageous advocate of prison reform. He also worked hard for the Child Labor Law of 1840...[7]

Villermé, who toured industrial areas in 1836-37, produced a report called the "Tableau d'état physique et moral des ouvriers employés dans les manufactures de coton, de laine at de soie," published in 1840. A less widely publicized report was made by a Lille factory inspector named Dr. Thouverin in 1846-47: "De l'influence que l'industrie exerce sur la santé des populations dans les grands centres manufacturiers."[8]

The other group concerned about labor reform during this early period was composed of "some sensitive Catholics, like Vicomte de Villeneuve-Bargemont, prefect at Lille during the late 1820's," who "exposed the miserable conditions of life among the workers."[9]

It was in response to such publicity about "slum conditions, absenteeism, and the high rate of draft rejections" that "in 1837 and 1840 the government conducted investigations of child-labor conditions, and in 1841 it pushed through parliament the only labor reform of the period. This measure outlawed the employment of children below the age of eight and shortened hours for those below sixteen."[10] It was also intended to ensure that children who worked in factories were taught to read and write.

> The bill aroused bitter opposition in Parliament, not only from factory owners but also from [some prominent intellectuals]; they declared that it violated the sacred principles of liberty and justice. The opposition managed to put in an amendment that pulled the teeth in the bill; it provided that factory inspectors must be unpaid volunteers, chosen from among retired manufacturers.[11]

Furthermore, even the "workers were not in sympathy with it because they felt it would seriously decrease their incomes, and they were interested only in religious instruction for their children."[12] Needless to say, this bill was not very well-enforced or successful in achieving its original objectives.

## 2. THE "ROMANTIC CHILD" IN FRANCE

Given all the various social and political ideologies current in France during the first half of the nineteenth century, one might expect that secondary sources would provide information about the images of childhood and attitudes towards children linked to these ideologies. But in fact, this writer has found little reference to specific beliefs about children implicit in social reform movements such as utopian socialism (e.g., the social theories of Saint Simon and Fourier) or in other reform doctrines, right- or left-wing.

Yet it is clear that a "romantic child" was born in France -- even earlier than in England and the U.S., it appears. To investigate the mystery of its conception it is necessary to return to the era of Rousseau and to trace aspects of the development of this "child" during the Romantic period in French literature. French Romanticism during the nineteenth century is not considered to have been as "child-centered" as was early English Romanticism and its mid-nineteenth-century elaborations, but it still reflected and promoted an image of the child which became increasingly widespread and ideologically potent as the century progressed.

It cannot be said that Rousseau actually originated the views on childrearing which he set forth in his writings. Roger Mercier argues that "Rousseau did not contribute anything new in the area of practical advice." Rather, says Mercier, he embedded these already current-ideas and practices into a systematic theory of the nature of the child (as innocent, good, sensitive, "natural," etc.), and it is in this theoretical systematization that his true originality exists. "Since Locke," states Mercier, "no synthesis of this type had been attempted."[13]

> Both in the Nouvelle Heloise and in the Emile he presents a sympathetic picture of the child and makes a plea for him against the indifference of his elders. His theory of the primitive and the childlike -- i.e., the child is endowed with emotional and instinctive unity and primitive

> man was similarly gifted -- was hospitably received in Germany, where childhood was exalted by the romantic poets on the ground that it is the period of the free and naive imagination....[14]

In France in the late 1700s authors such as Bernardin de Saint-Pierre "repeated Rousseau's plea for a kindly and understanding attitude toward and treatment of children, and was the first author to give them the important part in a novel, Paul et Virginie (1788)."[15] Already in the late 1700s and during the first two decades of the 1800s there appeared, in both France and Germany, poems and stories in which childhood was spoken of with sympathy and tenderness and children play "extended and sympathetic roles."[16] This was a radical change from Renaissance and classical literature which, as in England, largely ignored the child.

During these years, not only literature, but also educational theory, began to reflect the influence of Rousseau. Peter Coveney's interpretation is that starting in the late 1700s educational theory "became largely a gloss on the ideas converged so forcefully into the European consciousness through Rousseau's Émile. The vital genius of the book inspired the whole progressive school of educational thought in the nineteenth century."[17] It is important to note, however, that earlier views on the nature and appropriate care of children had by no means died out. Theodore Zeldin, describing French attitudes towards childrearing between 1848 and 1945, stresses that the Rousseauean vision of the nature and proper treatment of the child "conflicted of course with the Catholic view of the child as sinful, in whom obedience must be instilled, and with the empiricist view that the child was infinitely malleable, all of whose characteristics were the product of experience." These varied traditions all survived into the nineteenth century and if any generalization can be made....it is that perhaps Rousseau's notions of innocence did not gain anywhere near universal acceptance." Zeldin

thus suggests that "Rousseau's thought was a major turning-point in the history of theory rather than of practice" and that "the over-all picture in child-rearing is a wide variety of positions....not a period therefore when Frenchmen were brought up in one particular way, but a period of uncertainty. The conflicts experienced by successive generations were to a significant extent conflicts resulting from the unreconciled coexistence of varying aspirations and traditions in parents."[18]

An interesting case-in-point is Anthony Esler's analysis of the "Generation of 1830," which included a group of young students, artists, and bohemians in their late teens and twenties, who took part in the upheval which toppled Charles X from his Resoration throne and brought Louis-Philippe to power in 1830 These young men exhibited flamboyantly rebellious social, political and aesthetic attitudes and behavior. Esler's thesis is that they were part of a particular subgroup of the "birth cohort of 1810" whose bourgeois parents had raised them with a Rousseauean permissiveness which was rudely interrupted when these young boys were sent off to schools which still operated according to a much stricter and harsher philosophy of development and education:

> The shrinking size of the family, the influence of Emile and much other childhood literature, perhaps the romantic cult of the simple, uncorrupted souls -- the noble savage, the peasant, the child -- all this contributed to this startling new ascendancy of the young. As a result, the family in which the generation of 1830 grew up was increasingly built about the child himself. His health, his education, his future career were prime concerns to his elders. Tender family festivals and an almost cloyingly sentimental togetherness prevailed in the middle-class home. From the child's infancy until he was sent away to school, he was coddled, petted, made much of by his indulgent parents.
>
> The schools of the Restoration, by contrast, emphasized discipline -- strict obedience....
>
> The pattern was thus one of doting overindulgence of childish impulses followed by sudden sharp repression of them. This pattern of permissivness in childhood yielding

> abruptly to repressiveness in adolescence surely helped to create the smoldering sense of injustice that burst out at last in the generational rebellion of the 1830s.[19]

The romantic poet Lamartine (1790 - 1869) was older than the generation analyzed by Esler, and he is not known for being a "poet of childhood" in the same way as Victor Hugo (see below), but his self-reflection in his 1849 book, Confidences, seems to connect the above-noted dynamic to a specifically nostalgic and sentimental image of childhood: "Lamartine was reared up to the age of twelve by his mother; physically, intellectually, and morally, he was allowed to develop in entire liberty. The result was the happiest of childhods, which came to an end only when his uncles, fearing that he would be intellectually inferior to other men, determined that he should be sent away to school."[20] Lamartine paints a gloomy picture of his experience at this school:

> I fell from that nest all lined with down and all warm with the tenderness of an incomparable family, onto the cold, hard ground of a tumultuous school, inhabited by two hundred children, all strangers to me, all mocking, wicked, vicious, governed by curt, violent, and selfish masters whose indifferenne was not concealed from my eyes a single day by their honeyed, but insipid language.[21]

This young Lamartine inhabits a very different universe from little Oliver Twist, yet the underlying message of the poor innocent child who is vulnerable to the harsher public world into which he is thrust (even if in this case it is a school for the privileged rather than the street and factory life of slum London) seems remarkably similar.

Of course, the sentimentalized image of childhood can also be seen as an expression of the artist 's response to the new conditions of his existence in an industrializing society. Beginning about 1830 (which is also the time when industrialization began to "take off" in France, and also the date usually given for when romanticism turned from a "reactionary" attitude to a more socialistic and

activist one) there began to be a rise in mass literacy in France (the Guizot Law of 1833 which was designed to promote primary education further accentuated this trend). In addition, the 1830s saw the appearance of wide-circulation newspapers and other printed materials, owing to new technological advances in printing.[22] Instead of writing for a select audience of aristocratic patrons, as was the case during pre-Revolutionary times, the artist now had to keep in mind the tastes of the new consuming public if he wanted to earn a living. As was suggested in the paper on England, the Romantic image of the child can be seen as a vehicle onto which the artist projected his own deepening sense of alienation, hostility and despair vis-à-vis a society which was pushing him into a position of either marginal parasitism or else being a "producer for the market." But in addition to this "rebellious" strain, the use of the sentimentalized child, especially the orphan, was a good way to sell one's work,. for "the romanticists well knew that the melodrama and the terror novel had firmly fixed children in the French heart, especially the orphan."[23] So it appears that the sentimentalized image of the child in mid-nineteenth-century French letters can be seen as both a projection of the artists' sense of alientation from society and an increasingly-compelling sensational image "bought" by the very public against which it was also used as an expression of protest.

As was noted earlier, the romantic idea of the child "is more fully developed in English literature...than in French. "[24] In France, the quintessential literary champion of childhood is considered to be Victor Hugo (1802 - 1885), the poet, playwright, novelist and social activist.

> Hugo...is the first great poet of childhood, and his remark, 'Christophe Colomb n'a decouvert que l'amerique; j'ai decouvert l'enfant, moi' is entirely warranted. He was the first poet to sing very young children; he sang them in his youth and in his old age. He found his inspiration in the delight the parent takes in his child, and in the child himself in all his moods, under all his aspects.[25]

Georges Renard explicates two major tenets of Hugo's "ideology of childhood":

> One...is that childhood has...a social function; that it has a pacifying property; that it is the sacred innocence which soothes animosities, which by its presence alone counsels pity, forgiveness, which implicitly preaches clemency and reconciliation within the human fray....
>
> The other idea which renders childhood precious and worthy of all solicitude is that it is the limitless future, the forest of tomorrow burgeoning out of the forest of today, the continuation of the labor of humanity....[26]

In both his poetry and his novels Hugo expressed his strong sentiments about children. In a poem called "Melancholia," dated 1843, Hugo offered a Gallic counterpart to Elizabeth Barrett Browning's contemporaneous "Cry of the Children," contrasting his view of childhood's celestial innocence with dramatic images of industrial horrors:

(PLEASE SEE APPENDIX)

And a generation later, in his novel, Les Miserables (1862), Hugo created the character of Cosette -- abandoned by her mother as a tiny child. put to work at a disreputable inn by cruel guardians when she was five, and rescued at the age of eight by Jean Valjean, who finds her a pathetic sight, emaciated and fearful.[27]

Hugo's activism on behalf of children was not just expressed through his art but also in political and social activities (some of his other political involvements eventually got him exiled from France). In 1850 he addressed the Assemblée Legislative, opposing an education bill which gave the Church a "practical monopoly of elementary public instruction." He said,

> Gentlemen, every problem has its ideal. To my mind the ideal of this problem of instruction is as follows. Free and compulsory schooling....Compulsory primary instruction, that is the right of the child, which , make no mistake about it, is even more sacred than the right of the father, and which blends with the right of the state. [28]

Thus Hugo "stood for free, compulsory, and non-ecclesiastical schooling more than thirty years before these principles were incorporated into law. But what is especially significant is that he favors them, not merely in

the interest of the State, but because of the right of the child. " Parker adds that Hugo -- in this 1850 speech -- may have been the first to use this phrase, "le droit de l'enfant." [29]

Even the non-romantic novelist Honore de Balzac, in an 1840 novel Pierette, tells the story of an orphan who, at 11, is abused by her guardians. Through the years of physical and moral cruelty which follow, her physical condition worsens and finally she dies. Even when people in the town in which she lives attempt to bring her guardians to justice, the latter are ultimately let off and furthermore, says Balzac, "Not one of the persons who were involved in pierette's death feels the slightest remorse." According to Parker, this book was intended to be a pessimistic commentary on human nature and a study of a particular social setting, rather than an explicit polemic about childhood and children's rights. -- but the fact remains that an orphaned child is used to symbolize victimization, abuse and injustice. [30]

In 1871 the Third Republic came into being; France has been a republican country ever since.

On one hand, Gordon Wright asserts that interest in social reform, especially labor reform, was not especially strong among the bourgeoisie and peasants during the period from 1870-1914. He maintains that "almost the only signs of interest in social problmes in the later nineteenth century turned up on the extreme right....The attitudes of these rightists, however, was excessively and naively paternalistic. Efforts by such Catholics as Comte Albert de Mun to develop what they called 'social Catholicism'" met with resistance from both employers and workers.[31] Beginning about 1850, notes Wright, there did begin to be "efforts at paternalistic social reform by certain employers," a trend which grew stronger so that "by 1875 a parliamentary committee inquiring about labor conditions could repo rt proudly that France had outstripped all other countries in...employer-sponsored welfare programs."[32] Attached to these paternalistic social-welfare practices was an emphasis on the importance of the family as the primary social unit, a doctrine which had been developed by Frederic Le Play during the years of the Second Empire (1850s and 60s). Le Play

> developed the thesis that the family rather than the individual must be the ultimate unit in a healthy society. He pioneered the technique of sociological case studies of families and built upon his findings both a theory and an organized movement to propagate it. His goal was to substitute for the 'unstable' family of the modern era a somewhat broadened and more tightly-knit family unit, dedicated to the common good and capable therefore of achieving happiness.[33]

Yet, although the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in France were no "progressive era," there is also evidence to support the assertion of Clifford Parker that, after 1870, there was widened public interest and sympathy for child workers and for the rights and importance of children in general. Between 1870 and 1900, several important

laws deeply undermined "la puissance paternelle" -- the power of the father -- and championed "le droit de l'enfant" -- the rights of the child -- thereby investing more responsibility for child welfare in the hands of the State. These laws included:

1) the Roussel Law of 1874, which placed under government surveillance and regulation the practice of wet-nursing, which had first been investigated by the government in 1846. Between 1860 and 1870 various investigations had confirmed that the practice of sending infants to the country to be nursed by peasant women was linked to high infant mortality rates among both the neglected children of the wet-nurses and also among the babies who had been sent out to nurse by their (proletarian or bourgeois) mothers. The leading campaigner for this bill was Théophile Roussel (about whom little other information could be found).[34]

2) the Child Labor laws of 1874 (which totally prohibited the employment of children under twelve years of age), 1892 and 1900 (the 1900 Law "fixed at a maximum of 10 hours daily the work of minors from 16 to 18 years of age"[35]). Bills had been proposed in 1848 and 1858, and governmental inquiries made, but the Revolutions of 1848 and 1870 had "brushed aside" these earlier proposals. Beginning with the 1874 bill, however, there was provision made for a corps of inspectors who would really enforce thse more stringent regulations.[36]

3) the education laws of 1881, 1882 and 1886, which provided for free, compulsory and non-ecclesiastical primary education.[37]

4) the Law of July 24, 1889, which "requires the annulment of paternal authority when the parents have committed certain serious crimes; it allows the court to decide whether or not annulment shall be pronounced when the parents are guilty of specified lesser crimes, including the

habitual mistreatment of their children."[38] Roussel was behind this law also. It represented the most serious legal undermining of "la puissance paternelle" up to that point in French history. According to Louis Delzons, the underlying ideology can be traced back to Rousseau and was espoused by certain groups during the Revolution (although the doctrine of patriarchal primacy was dominant throughout the nineteenth century):

> The family is an essential cell of the social body: but the social body represented by the State can intervene and can deputize for it if it doesn't fulfill its function. Such were the ideas which were current during the Revolution. One can recognize the spirit and the tendencies. Once again one finds the pedagogical and social philosophy of Rousseau.[39]

In his book, The Defense of the Child by French Novelists, Clifford Parker studied the increasingly strong concern for the rights and welfare of children which was voiced in French novels written after 1870. He suggests that about this time a greater number of novelists began to focus attention on the sociological factors affecting the welfare of children in French society at that time. In La Terre Promise (1892), for example, Paul Bourget depicts "a little girl; to this child he gives the qualities of physical beauty and moral purity which the romanticists ascribed to childhood. But the importance of his book lies not in the picture of the child, but rather in the determination of her fate, and this gives rise to an analysis of certain social rights of a child."[40] Jack (1876), by Alphonse Daudet, is "the best-known work in French literature which recounts the life of an unhappy child." Jack is a long-suffering child worker who, "at the age of twenty,...was 'delivered' from his trials and tribulations by death." Although Parker does not consider that this novel was intended as a polemic against child labor, he suggests that "it was written for a public wrought up to a high pitch of humanitarian interest in the child."[41] Novels such as these, says Parker, which dealt with such topics as child labor, illegitemacy, children of

divorce, oppressive school environments (the Lamartine anecdote cited in Section Two is an early and more purely "romantic" version of this), and so on, are seen by him to have reflected (and contributed to)

> the same current of popular sympathy with the weak and oppressed with began as a modest stream in the first half of the century, gathered size and force in the third quarter, and became a powerful torrent in the last quarter.[42]

## Footnotes

1. Arthur Dunham, The Industrial Revolution in France (New York, 1955), p. 433.

2. Ibid., p. 433.

3. Ibid., p. 210.

4. Gordon Wright, France in Modern Times (Chicago, 1960), p. 364.

5. Charles Breunig, The Age of Revolution and Reaction (New York, 1970), pp. 216-217,

6. Wright, pp. 362-363.

7. Dunham, p. 206.

8. Ibid., p. 178.

9. Wright, p. 218.

10. Ibid., pp. 218-219.

11. Ibid., p. 219.

12. Dunham, p. 193.

13. Roger Mercier, L'enfant dans la societe du XIII$^{e}$ siecle (Dakar, 1961), p. 185.

14. N.H. Clement, Romanticism in France (New York, 1939), p. 389.

15. Ibid., pp. 389 - 390.

16. Ibid., p. 390.

17. Peter Coveney, The Image of Childhood (Middlesex, 1967), pp. 45 - 46.

18. Theodore Zeldin, France 1848-1945: Vol I -- Ambition, Love and Politics (Oxford, 1973)p. 318.

19. Anthony Esler, "Youth in Revolt: The French Generation of 1830," in ed. Robert J. Bezucha, Modern European Social History (Lexingtin, MA,1972), p. 308.

20. Clifford Parker, The Defense of the Child by French Novelists Menasha, WI, 1925), p. 74.

21. quoted in Parker, p. 47(Alphonse de Lamartine, Confidences, 1849)

22. Albert Joseph George, The Development of French Romanticism (Syracuse, 1955), Chapter Six, "Advent of the Newspaper."

23. Ibid., p. 186.

24.Clement, p. 471.

25. Ibid., p. 390.

26. Georges Renard, "L'enfant dans l'industrie moderne, Le Droit de l'Enfant," Revue Bleue, Dec. 17, 1910, p. 782:

> L'une...c'est que l'enfance a...une fonction sociale; qu'elle a une vertu pacificatrice; qu'elle est l'innocence sacree qui calme les haines, qui par sa seule presence conseille la pitie, le pardon, qui preche tacitement dans la melee humaine la clemence et la reconciliation....
>
> L'autre idee, qui rend l'enfance precieuse et digne de toute sollicitude, c'est qu'elle est l'avenir sans limites, la foret de demain qui croit en bourgeons sur la foret d'aujourd'hui, la continuatrice du labeur de l'humanite....

27. Parker, pp. 117-118.

28. Ibid., p. 66.

29. Ibid., pp. 66-67.

30. Ibid., pp. 113-116.

31. Wright, p. 363.

32. Ibid., pp. 220-221.

33. Ibid., p. 238.

34. Parker, pp. 1 - 2.

35. Ibid., p. 11.

36. Ibid., p. 11.

37. Ibid., p. 66.

38. Ibid., pp. 111 - 112.

39. Louis Delzons, La Famille Francaise et son Evolution (Paris, 1913), p. 147:

> La famille est une cellule essentielle du corps sociale: mais le corps social represente par l'Etat peut intervenir et la suppleer si elle n'acquitte pas de sa fonction. Telles etaient les idees qui avaient eu cours durant la Revolution. On reconnait l'esprit et les tendances. Une fois encore, on retrouve la philosophie edagogique et sociale de Rousseau.

40. Parker, pp. x - xi.

41. Ibid., pp. 13 - 16.

42. Ibid., p. 135.

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APPENDIX --

"Melancholia" from "Les Contemplations" by Victor Hugo

(Georges Renard gives the date of this poem as 1843; Clifford Parker says it is dated 1838 but was published in 1856)

NOTE: I have hesitated to include a translation of this poem because I do not completely trust my somewhat-atrophied French, but can provide one upon request

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Où vont tous ces enfants dont pas un seul ne rit?
Ces doux êtres pensifs que la fièvre maigrit?
Ces filles de huit ans qu'on voit [illegible] seules?
Ils s'en vont travailler quinze heures sous des meules;
Ils vont, de l'aube au soir, faire éternellement
Dans la même prison le même mouvement.
Accroupis sous les dents d'une machine sombre,
Monstre hideux qui mâche on ne sait quoi dans l'ombre,
Innocents dans un bagne, anges dans un enfer,
Ils travaillent. Tout est d'airain, tout est de fer.
Jamais on ne s'arrête et jamais on ne joue.
Aussi quelle pâleur! la cendre est sur leur joue.
Il fait à peine jour, ils sont déjà bien las.
Ils ne comprennent rien à leur destin, hélas!
Ils semblent dire à Dieu:—Petits comme nous sommes,
Notre père, voyez ce que nous font les hommes!—
O servitude infâme imposée à l'enfant!
Rachitisme! travail dont le souffle étouffant
Défait ce qu'a fait Dieu, qui tue, œuvre insensée,
La beauté sur les fronts, dans les cœurs la pensée,
Et qui ferait—c'est là son fruit le plus certain!—
D'Apollon un bossu, de Voltaire un crétin!
Travail mauvais qui prend l'âge tendre en sa serre,
Qui produit la richesse en créant la misère,
Qui se sert d'un enfant ainsi que d'un outil!
Progrès dont on demande: Où va-t-il? que veut-il?
Qui brise la jeunesse en fleur! qui donne, en somme,
Une âme à la machine et la retire à l'homme!

Que ce travail, haï des mères, soit maudit!
Maudit comme le vice où l'on s'abâtardit,
Maudit comme l'opprobre et comme le blasphème!
O Dieu! qu'il soit maudit au nom du travail même,
Au nom du vrai travail, sain, fécond, généreux,
Qui fait le peuple libre et qui rend l'homme heureux!

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